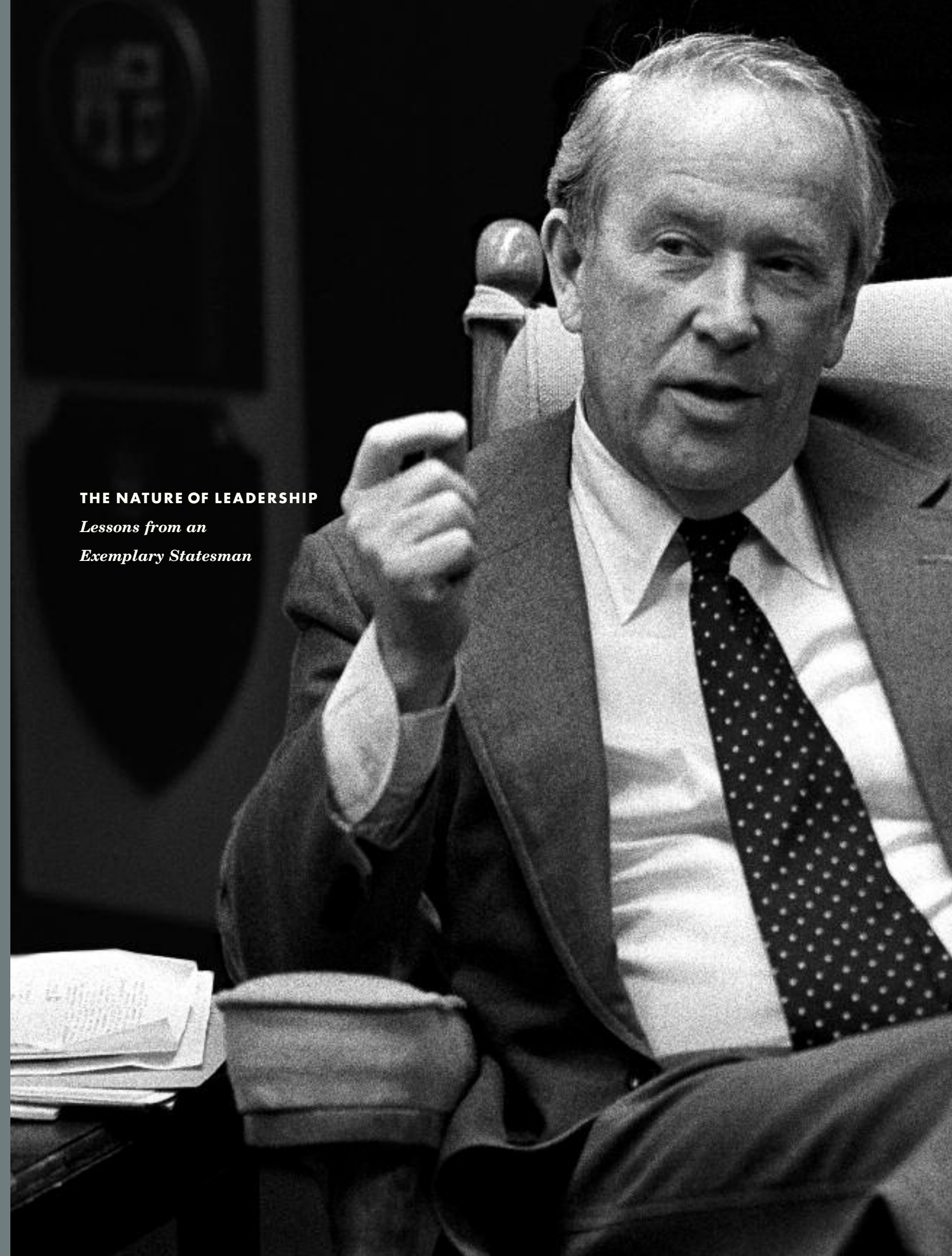




THE NATURE OF LEADERSHIP

*Lessons from an
Exemplary Statesman*



THE NATURE OF LEADERSHIP

Lessons from an

Exemplary Statesman



**WORKING FOR HIM AFFIRMED
WHAT I GREW UP BELIEVING,
THAT GOVERNMENT IS US,
NOT SOME FOREIGN DETACHED
ENTITY. IT IS WHAT WE MAKE IT.
HE INSTILLED IN ME THAT
GOVERNMENT SERVICE IS A
NOBLE FIELD.**

| *Linda Mason Wilgis*



PUBLIC SERVICE LEADERSHIP is both science and art, a combination of skills and specific knowledge with personal characteristics—some innate, some acquired—that add up to a body of work and a legacy of service.

One of the most successful leaders in American public service was Henry M. “Scoop” Jackson (1912-1983). He was widely regarded as a master statesman and legislator across his 43 years of service in the U.S. Congress. Historians acknowledge that Jackson was extraordinarily effective as a political leader. His legacy lives on in his areas of interest—foreign policy, human rights, energy, education, public service, and the environment. Those who worked with the Senator or studied his work continue to view him as a man of great character, dedication, and accomplishment, a perspective clearly shared by his Washington State constituents who voted him into office again and again over more than four decades.

Jackson is a founding father of the environmental movement, and he helped design and secure the passage of the nation’s first National Energy Act. He played a major role in establishing statehood for Hawaii and Alaska by guiding the required legislation through an often hostile Congress. Jackson was one of the first American politicians to emphasize the significance of human rights in international relations. He helped unify American foreign policy by identifying international communism as a political and ethical threat in the modern world.

Beyond the substantive impact of his work, Senator Jackson’s legacy also offers a model of effective leadership in public service. This publication aims to capture attributes of Jackson’s approach to stimulate a discussion about the nature and power of public service leadership in its finest rendition. Senator Jackson’s legacy continues to inspire his followers even now, some 25 years after his death. It is for this reason that he is the focus of this study.

This publication makes no claim to offer a complete picture of Senator Jackson or to provide a comprehensive profile of his accomplishments. It is instead based on a series of interviews conducted with those who knew and worked with him. To gain a fuller picture of Senator Jackson’s life and legacy, readers may pursue the books and other items listed in the bibliography at the end of this publication.

SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON

Henry M. “Scoop” Jackson was born in Everett, Washington, in 1912. He attended public schools there and received a law degree from the University of Washington in 1935.

He practiced law and was elected prosecuting attorney of Snohomish County at the age of 26 in 1938. Two years later, Jackson felt the draw of political office when the congressional seat for the Second District became open. Jackson ran as a Democrat against Republican Payson Peterson. He won with 57 percent of the vote. This began what would be a 43-year career in the U.S. Congress.

Jackson served in the U.S. House of Representatives for 12 years. During these six terms, he represented his state’s interests, which were reflected in his committee appointments.

He served on the Appropriations Committee, the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, the Civil Service Committee, the Flood Control Committee, the Indian Affairs Committee, the River and Harbor Committees, the House Select Committee of Conservation of Wildlife Resources and the House Select Committee of Small Business. In 1945, he served in the U.S. Army during World War II until President Roosevelt called members of Congress serving in the military back. During that time, Jackson visited the Buchenwald concentration camp shortly after its liberation. The horrors at Buchenwald profoundly influenced his views and his subsequent legislative proposals on human rights and foreign affairs for years to come.

In 1952, he challenged incumbent Senator Harry P. Cain for his Senate seat and won with 56 percent of the vote. He served in the Senate for the next 31 years. As he grew in seniority, his reputation grew in Washington State and nationally. Senator Jackson defeated most of his challengers with wide victory margins. In the Senate, Jackson served on numerous

committees including the Armed Services Committee, the Commerce Committee, the Government and Operations Committee, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. He held powerful committee chair positions and exerted great influence on policy debates while chairing the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee (renamed the Energy and Natural Resources Committee in 1977). As chairman, he helped push through the significant energy legislation of the 1970s and the environmental legislation of the late 1960s.

Jackson’s interest in foreign affairs and national security threats also guided major legislative initiatives during the Cold War era. He co-authored the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the 1974 Trade Act, which placed trade restrictions on countries that did not employ free emigration rights or market economies. He was a proponent of a strong national defense system and the containment of communism throughout his career and during the Vietnam conflict and the Cold War.



*Representative Henry M. Jackson
at the beginning of his 43-year career
in the U.S. Congress.*

In 1960, John F. Kennedy considered Senator Jackson as his vice-presidential running mate in his campaign against Richard Nixon. However, as the race tightened Kennedy named Lyndon Johnson from Texas to appeal to Southern voters. Jackson went on to chair the Democratic National Committee.

Given his extensive experience on complex policy issues and his solid popularity in Washington State, Senator Jackson decided to pursue the presidency himself in 1972. Jackson’s strategy of personal campaigning that had worked well in his previous congressional races was not effective for a large-scale national campaign. He lost the Democratic Party’s nomination and returned to the Senate to focus on U.S.-Soviet relations. In 1976, he decided to run again for the Democratic presidential nomination, this time with more national recognition and a new campaign strategy. The Democratic Party was split between left-leaning Democrats and traditionalist liberals. After losing in the Pennsylvania primary, Jackson withdrew from the race, and the nomination went to Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter. Jackson returned to the Senate for a fifth term and retained his status as one of the most influential members on policy issues concerning foreign affairs, energy, and national defense. He continued his work in the Senate until his sudden death in 1983 at the age of 71.

LEADERSHIP FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD

WHEN ASKED TO CHARACTERIZE HENRY M. JACKSON'S APPROACH TO PUBLIC SERVICE, THOSE WHO KNEW AND WORKED WITH HIM SHARED REFLECTIONS AND STORIES WITH COMMON THEMES—HIS INTELLECTUAL CURIOSITY, DETERMINATION TO FIND ANSWERS TO TOUGH QUESTIONS, APPRECIATION FOR DIVERSE IDEAS AND OPINIONS, SKILL IN BUILDING BIPARTISAN SUPPORT, AND HIS DEEP VALUE-BASED CONVICTIONS. THESE CHARACTERISTICS FRAMED SENATOR JACKSON'S PROCESS AND WORK ETHIC AND WERE ESPECIALLY CONDUCTIVE TO TRANSPARENCY, INFORMED PUBLIC DISCOURSE, AND COLLABORATIVE PROBLEM SOLVING.

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INQUISITIVE

VISIONARY

DILIGENT

PRAGMATIC

OPEN

HONEST

DETERMINED

INSPIRING

APPENDIX



I REMEMBER BEING DUMBOUNDED BY HIS INTEREST IN ACADEMICS. THERE WAS A CONFERENCE ON RELATIONS WITH CHINA AND NOT ONLY DID HE SHOW UP AND GIVE A SPEECH, HE ACTUALLY ATTENDED THE CONFERENCE, HE LISTENED TO PAPERS AND PARTICIPATED IN THE DISCUSSIONS.

William Gerberding

*Seeking Knowledge
and Understanding of Issues*

INQUISITIVE

Senator Jackson's approach to public problem solving was characterized by his knowledge of history and an analytical, rather than ideological, approach to understanding issues. The Senator placed a high value on common sense and good judgment.

RESPECT FOR HISTORY AND EXPERTISE

Jackson collected, digested, and mastered knowledge on the issues; he sought out experts who had something to teach him and learned from their advice and experience. Those who worked and traveled with him have vibrant memories of discussions that probed the potential and the implications of various policy options. Whether learning about endangered birds on the Olympic Peninsula, sitting on the floor of his office projecting future trouble spots in the world and outlining the boundaries of Afghanistan and Uzbekistan on an atlas, or clarifying the cultural significance of historical sites and events in China, Jackson challenged himself and colleagues to gather, assess, and apply a wide range of knowledge and understanding to the issues facing them.

Jackson had an appetite for knowledge and valued those who knew more than he. **"He very much believed in gathering information from the real experts. By experts I mean going outside of the government to academicians and those who work in the field and developing those relationships so that public policy could be informed by those who have expertise,"** recalls Linda Mason Wilgis, who served on his staff. Jackson sought information from a wide range of sources. **"Scoop talked to everybody,"** says Daniel Dreyfus, also a member of Jackson's staff. **"He had the widest range of associates I have ever seen coming**

in and out of his office: the chairman of the board of Ford Motor Company, Admiral Rickover, union guys, management people. He talked with just about everybody, and not just people he agreed with.... He wanted to know what the other guys were thinking."

As committee chair, Jackson directed his staff to find the most competent, knowledgeable people to give testimony. He maintained those contacts afterwards, consulting regularly with many expert witnesses by phone and in person. Jackson demonstrated a fierce commitment to staying current. He was always open to changing his mind and adjusting his position

as new information became available. His vision of serving the nation and his constituents embodied action and forward thinking, not resting on laurels.

Jackson had the ability to absorb new facts, incorporate new information, and change his policy attitude as he studied new circumstances. During the energy crisis in the late 1970s, Jackson adjusted his position on energy regulation to support the deregulation of natural gas pricing to bring forth new supplies. **"Scoop always said 'Let the facts lead to the conclusion,'"** says former Senator Sam Nunn, who worked closely with him. **"After several years on an issue, you collect a lot more facts so you have to be ready to change your mind."** The Alaska Native Claim Settlement Act of 1971, which Jackson authored, and his legislation supporting self-determination policy within the Native American Reservation/Trust system are two more examples of how additional information gathered over time caused a shift in Jackson's thinking.

Jackson immersed himself in the facts and developed an expertise on the issues about which he cared deeply and on which he worked devotedly. His knowledge and insights were well known and respected. As former Senator Nunn explains, **"He had a profound knowledge of history that informed how he went about his work. Young senators were eager to learn from him. [Being effective in the Senate] isn't just about seniority; it's seniority and knowledge."**

HE HAD EXTRAORDINARY APPRECIATION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF UNDERSTANDING THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF COUNTRIES WE WERE DEALING WITH IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY. HE WAS ABLE TO RETAIN THE DETAILS AND GRASP THE CENTRAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICULAR ISSUES THAT HE WOULD TRANSLATE THEN INTO PRACTICAL POLITICS.

| *Kenneth Pyle*



HIS GREATEST CONTRIBUTION WAS IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS... HE HAD A BIG STRATEGIC PICTURE THAT WAS INFORMED BY HISTORY AND ONE THAT KEPT THE INTERESTS OF THE NATION ABOVE AND OUTSIDE OF PARTISAN POLITICS.

Kenneth Pyle

Focused on the Long Term

VISIONARY

Senator Jackson's depth of knowledge helped him anticipate the future and appreciate the time required to effect change. "[President] Jimmy Carter usually gets credit for delegitimizing the Soviet Union with human rights issues, but Scoop was ahead of the curve on that," says political columnist George F. Will. "He knew that when he took up a subject like human rights, it was like asking for a lightning bolt. It was not going to be an instant transformation. It would be years, and in the meantime there would be strife. Scoop [understood] some things had to have a long time horizon."

Jackson was a trail blazer, comfortable leading his constituents instead of following them, guiding them to see broader and deeper issues. "He was not afraid to lean into the winds," says Will. Jackson considered this his responsibility to those who elected him and, more broadly, to the American people. "He believed he was sent to Washington, D.C., to do things so he was active on the issues that he thought were most important," explains Richard Perle, who worked on Jackson's staff for 11 years. "In some cases these were issues that were popular with his constituents and sometimes they were controversial. [His] concept of service was to bring his best judgment [forward], regardless of whether it was popular or not. He was not the sort of man who read the polls before deciding what to do."

Jackson could see a future and drive to it. "Jackson was not satisfied with the status quo," says his colleague Ambassador Max Kampelman, reflecting on Jackson's involvement in reform efforts. "He was trying to move the needle on challenging issues. He had a different notion of the future of America than what was being represented at the time [by

others in Congress]. His vision was toward a more democratic and liberal political vision.”

“He had a vision for what was happening to our state, how it was rapidly growing, how it would become a popular place to live,” recalls Washington State’s former Governor and Senator Dan Evans, thinking about the legislation Jackson authored for wilderness and parks. “It was time to act on our unique wilderness areas now, he said, to keep what we had.... Acting early enough—this is so important, [but it] is not easy. You have to convince people of things that they don’t foresee.” For Jackson, anticipating the future and working for actions that many of his constituents had not yet foreseen—as reflected in his environmental and energy legislation—were part of his attitude toward the responsibility of public service.

NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY ACT

Senator Jackson introduced the seminal National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) in the late 1960s. For the first time in history, NEPA established a national policy on the environment that included a transparent process for public review and input into federal decision making around environmental protection. It also created the President’s Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ) shortly before the establishment of the Environmental Protection Agency. NEPA requires that all federal actions significantly affecting the quality of the human environment undergo publicly available, environmental impact

statements. These actions include construction of airports, government buildings, highways, and other large-scale undertakings. Senator Jackson worked with his Senate staff to draft a bill in 1968 and assembled congressional and public support around the formation of a national environmental policy. The Johnson and Nixon administrations opposed the bill, but Senator Jackson worked to neutralize opposition and he successfully passed the bill through Congress. President Nixon signed NEPA into law on January 1, 1970; it was the first law enacted in the new decade.





**THERE ARE WORKHORSES AND SHOW HORSES.
HE WAS NOT A SHOW HORSE. HE DID NOT HAVE THE SELF-
PROMOTION AND FLAMBOYANCE THAT OTHERS HAD.**

George F. Will

Hard Work and Persistence

DILIGENT

Senator Jackson was famous for doing his homework on the issues and on proposed legislation. **“Searching for the best answer”** is how several of his colleagues describe the motivation for the extensive research and study that he devoted to major issues and to preparing for a hearing, a debate, or a vote.

Jackson was considered so well prepared for Senate votes and debates that just a small visible sign from him when a bill was up for a vote would garner support from colleagues who were undecided. People looked to him and trusted him. **“I would be standing with him as he got ready to go out on the Senate floor for a vote, other senators would greet him with a raised eyebrow or lifted chin, and Scoop would give a thumbs up or a thumbs down...,”** says a former staff member. Other senators who had not studied the issue or the legislation wanted to know how Jackson was going to vote, and felt comfortable following suit. **“On some bills, you would get Scoop to be down there in the well, and that would get you 10 or 15 more votes than you were going to get,”** remarks another colleague. **“I never saw him walk into a situation where he hadn’t thought through what he knew and what he needed to know,”** states a third associate.

EXCELLENT STAFF WITH EXPERTISE AND CHARACTER

Jackson’s approach to recruiting and working with staff mirrored his openness and his search for the best answers, resulting in a high-quality staff team that was well regarded throughout Washington, D.C. **“It was said around town that his staff and the staff on his committees were the most expert on subject matter.... He had experts on many subjects—**

that you don't see a lot in Washington—and if he didn't have 'em, he'd find them," explains one associate. Some of his staff recall with hints of wonderment in their voices how this important Senator recruited them, listened to them, and entrusted them to work out agreements or make judgments in dealing with others in the government. In an era when patronage and political favors often dominated the hiring processes, Jackson selected his team based on expertise and character. **"He was always pulling in deep thinkers.... He recognized and appreciated smart people, he was not afraid of them. He brought them in on topics he wanted to know more about. Something about this created a great bond among those who worked with him,"** recalls Gerald Grinstein, past CEO of Delta Airlines and other major corporations, who had observed Jackson closely during his tenure on the staff of Washington State Senator Warren Magnuson.

**SCOOP HAD A GREAT ORGANIZATION.
HE RECRUITED VERY SEASONED AND WISE
ADVISORS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.
HE REALLY HAD A WAY WITH STAFF: HE
LISTENED AND ORGANIZED BETTER THAN
OTHER SENATORS. HE BUILT CAPACITY
ON HIS TEAM.**

| *Ambassador Max Kampelman*





I DON'T KNOW WHAT HE WOULD HAVE THOUGHT ABOUT [THE WAR IN] IRAQ BUT I'M SURE HE WOULD HAVE UNDERSTOOD THE ISSUE, AND HE WOULD HAVE BEEN ABLE TO EXPLAIN [IT] TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.... IT'S SUCH AN IMPORTANT THING AND PEOPLE ARE SEARCHING FOR AN ANSWER. SCOOP WOULD HAVE HAD AN ANSWER.

Congressman Norm Dicks

*A Bipartisan, Results-oriented Approach
to Problem Solving*

PRAGMATIC

Senator Jackson's ability to work well with people of diverse points of view to solve problems is considered by many to be a key to his significant legislative legacy. Working with the opposition was part of the way Jackson went about his search for the best answer, the best policy. **"He reached out across the aisle to uncover different perspectives and then build coalitions. And he did this with extraordinary civility, even with irascible colleagues. That's how you become a great legislator,"** says former Secretary of Energy and Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger. Jackson's skill in working with and through opposition is credited as the grease that facilitated the passage of many bills, one of which was the Hawaii Statehood Act. **"It took someone with the wisdom and sincerity of Scoop Jackson to convince key southern senators, the giants of the South, to go through with it. They could have filibustered and prevented statehood from passing,"** says Senator Daniel Inouye, **"but they didn't."**

COALITION BUILDING FOR THE LONG TERM

The Senator's ability to cultivate coalitions and cross-aisle votes increased over time as he demonstrated a deep grasp of the issues and became known as a sensible and fair-minded man among his colleagues in the House and the Senate. **"You don't suddenly create coalitions; you work on them for years,"** says Schlesinger. **"You work continuously on your relationships with your colleagues. You become someone that they can count on in a crisis or in a circumstance where they have a great deal at stake."** These cross-aisle relationships serve beyond advancing particular agendas; they enable leaders to focus on

substance, to transcend party politics, and to perform their assigned responsibilities as stewards of democracy. In the tense days of the Watergate scandal, when calls for scrutiny of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) increased dramatically, Congress was reeling from the demands of the press and the electorate. **“Scoop called upon his friends in the Senate and moved the CIA hearings in order for there to be more control over what was going on. He was able to do this because of his personal relationships with the other senators. A wise senator can better control events because of relationships he has built in the past,”** notes Schlesinger in describing Jackson’s role.

Jackson’s ability to build consensus was enhanced by the fact that his approach to the full range of issues facing Congress did not follow the standard Democratic Party line. In foreign policy, for example, his call for a strong military and anti-communist stance placed him at odds with the majority of the Democratic Party, and to some degree this evidence of independent thinking generated confidence and support among those in the other party. The phrase **“Scoop Jackson Democrat”** is still used today, 25 years after his death, to describe someone who supports tough foreign policy and a strong international presence for the United States along with a progressive role for the federal government in the country’s economic and social life.

FORGING RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

Senator Jackson had the ear of many presidents and worked effectively with the executive branch on foreign policy and energy issues. **“Any White House that wanted to accomplish something would value his ability to get things done in the Senate,”** recalls Daniel Dreyfus. **“If you had something stuck or wanted to get something started, he would be able to get to it. He came to the table with useful currency for a White House.”**

Presidents and cabinet heads sought him out for his knowledge and his counsel, even when he was on the opposite side of an issue. **“[Jackson] was always able to see problems from the vantage point of the president; his judgment and his collaboration with the executive office was far deeper than other senators’,”** said Richard Perle. **“The White House knew he would deepen their understanding of the issues. This was even true when he wasn’t sympathetic to what they were trying to do.”**

ALASKA AND HAWAII STATEHOOD ADMISSION ACTS

While he was chairman of the Senate Interior Committee’s Subcommittee on Territories, Senator Jackson sponsored bills to incorporate Hawaii and Alaska into the United States. Given Alaska’s close proximity and strategic importance to Washington State, Senator Jackson worked to pass statehood legislation through Congress. Some senators from both the Republican and Democratic Parties put up fierce opposition based on their concerns that the impending legislation could upset the racial and party balance in the Senate. With the help of fellow

advocates such as Senators Clinton Anderson, Thomas Kuchel, Richard Neuberger, Frank Church, and then-Interior Department counsel Ted Stevens (currently a Senator from Alaska), the Alaska and Hawaii Statehood Acts were passed in 1958 and 1959, respectively. These laws enabled Alaska and Hawaii to form constitutional congresses and state governments. President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed the bills into law for Alaska’s admission on July 7, 1958, and Hawaii’s admission on March 18, 1959, officially adding the 49th and 50th states.





Seeking and Respectful of Diverse Views

OPEN

Despite taking positions that were sometimes unpopular among members of his party and even his constituents, Jackson was extraordinarily successful in his re-election campaigns. He was returned to office time and again, sometimes with landslide votes of 70 percent and higher. **“He had enormous affection for his constituents and it was reciprocal. When he disagreed with his constituents on issues of policy, he would explain his views and why he took the positions he did. He won by huge margins, even in his last elections when his view on Vietnam was unpopular,”** recalls former staff member Richard Perle.

His constituents trusted him and had confidence in his judgment even when they didn't agree with him. **“He was stronger as he went,”** says former Governor Dan Evans, **“and this came from building supporters from widely dispersed groups, based not just on his going out and seeking their support, but doing the job well and gaining their understanding.”** Those who knew the Washington State electorate speculate that his constituents understood that he was doing his job well. **“He had the people's respect for the way he did his work,”** says Evans. **“I think people would think, ‘well, maybe he wasn't with us on this issue but he'll be around and maybe he'll be with us on the next, and that would be very good.’”** As former Senator Sam Nunn describes it, **“They knew they had a Senator who was effective in the Senate, with the White House, with the Pentagon.”**

PERSONAL CONNECTION WITH HIS CONSTITUENTS

Senator Jackson was known for pulling out a small black book of names and phone numbers when he had time between activities to take the pulse of those with a stake in his work.

“Scoop was a guy who would pick up the phone and call people, just to see what they were thinking. I learned a lot from him, and I do that now myself,” says Congressman Norm Dicks. Kenneth Pyle, professor of history and Asian studies at the University of Washington, recalls how Jackson would walk up and down the aisle on the long plane ride between Washington, D.C., and Seattle, engaging people in conversation about issues that concerned them. Regardless of their ages or backgrounds, their ideas and opinions were valuable to him. **“I was impressed by the openness and unpretentiousness of the man in an institution with entrenched pretentiousness,”** recalls George F. Will, who observed him closely for many years. **“He was extraordinarily powerful in the Senate and yet he was accessible, very accessible.”**

“Scoop never forgot his Scandinavian heritage, his humble upbringing or his deep Everett roots,” says a former staffer. **“He solicited my views on issues pending on the floor of the Senate, but his views and his votes were often guided by what he heard from friends and constituents, the people who enjoyed the benefits and bore the costs of government...views and opinions that were near the ground and infused with the lessons and the hardships of real life experience. It was these junctions of federal mandates with real day-to-day life that informed many of his views about the issues of the day.”**

RESPECT FOR HIS ADVERSARIES

Jackson’s sincere interest in the lives and views of his colleagues and constituents together with his studied substantive approach to issues is credited for his success in the voting booth and for his ability to craft policy that met favor across a wide spectrum of political positions. **“He respected his adversaries and was a favorite among his opposition because he was willing to deal with all sorts of people and points of view in search of public policies that he found to be in the public interest,”** recalls William Gerberding, past president of the University of Washington.

Jackson believed that listening to adversaries was an admirable trait. He could not understand why President Jimmy Carter was less open than his predecessors to discussing foreign policy issues with him, remembers former staffer Daniel Dreyfus. **“The White House seemed unapproachable. Carter seemed to think the Senate was something to send stuff to by mail, and Scoop couldn’t figure it out. He couldn’t get any frank conversation going and it annoyed him.”** Jackson could not imagine making policy decisions without collecting and examining detailed information from experts and from multiple viewpoints.

HE BELIEVED THAT PEOPLE OF ALL AGES AND ALL WALKS OF LIFE HAVE SOMETHING TO CONTRIBUTE TO CIVIC LIFE. HE WAS VERY EGALITARIAN, NOT INFLUENCED BY PEOPLE’S TITLES—HE WOULD LISTEN TO A FARMER FROM EASTERN WASHINGTON [WITH AS MUCH INTEREST] AS A CEO FROM A FORTUNE 500 COMPANY.

| *Linda Mason Wilgis*



“YOU’VE GOT A GREAT CAREER IN POLITICS AHEAD, JACKSON, IF YOU’LL ONLY STOP TELLING THE TRUTH!”

Integrity and High Moral Standards

HONEST

Senator Jackson’s personal integrity was fundamental to his success. His constituents voted for him because of it; his staff extended themselves and remained with him because of it; his colleagues in government accepted his advice and influence because of it. Jackson’s staff describe a man who **“felt it was important to live your life ethically, to have high standards for yourself,”** who chose work options that reflected these high standards, often declining government-sponsored travel that was clearly related to one of his areas of responsibility: **“Even trips that were legitimate, he would say no, we won’t do that trip. It may be legitimate, but it just doesn’t seem ethical.”** One staff member recounts a time when they were trying to get a bill passed and the bill’s opponents were out of town. Jackson refused to move the bill onto the Senate floor during their absence. For decades, Jackson gave all honoraria he earned from speeches to the Gertrude Jackson Trust, a fund to help disadvantaged children that was established in honor of his sister who was an elementary school teacher. He made these contributions anonymously, spurning any public recognition. When this long-standing charitable action became public knowledge, it received wide notice in the press as an anomaly among political leaders of the time.

LONG-HELD VALUES AND PRINCIPLES

Senator Jackson entered his public service career with some key values and beliefs to which he held true. **“Scoop believed that you follow your principles and never abandon them,”** says Richard Perle. **“I don’t think he ever compromised his values and principles.”** **“He was rooted in small town Scandinavian values, and his moral compass trusted these values,**

even in the face of formidable opposition,” explained another former staff member. **“These values gave Scoop uncommon courage, strength, and credibility.”**

“I admired him because he did not use flowery language to cover up; he did not make excuses for what he believed or did not know,” recalls a Senate colleague. **“Nothing embarrassed his friends and admirers more than wavering in front of Scoop,”** says Perle, recounting how fluctuating public sentiment on Cold War issues would prompt some senators to cast votes in favor of bills they did not fully support. Influential senators like Patrick Moynihan of New York **“would become sheepish around Scoop because of this. He might not care what anyone else thought, but he cared what Scoop thought.”**

Jackson’s “moral compass” and “keen sense of right and wrong” steered his policy work through opposition and compromises. He maintained the image of **“the straightest of the straight arrows,”** as one colleague says, and had an impeccable reputation for integrity and honesty. **“And by integrity I don’t just mean finances,”** says former Senator Sam Nunn. **“I mean how he did his work. If he gave his word, he carried it out.”** **“He was universally trusted and regarded as a person of absolute integrity,”** remarks another observer of his work. **“That’s the way he was viewed by his constituents and fellow senators. That’s a hell of an asset if you’re in politics.”**

Jackson actively engaged in discussions with staff and colleagues about ethics—the study of moral values and rules—and the role of ethics in politics. As he was developing his concept of human rights legislation, which eventually became the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, he and his staff studied theologian Reinhold Niebuhr’s philosophical treatises on the political aspects of the human condition. Some of his conflicts with other foreign policy leaders were rooted in his concerns that realpolitik and diplomacy driven by practicality compromised the United States’ values and ethics.

THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT TO THE 1974 TRADE ACT

In the early 1970s, as the United States and the Soviet Union (U.S.S.R) were holding the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) in an attempt to reduce the rate of nuclear arms build up, representatives of the two countries were also discussing normalizing trade relations, which had been restricted for over 20 years. Senator Jackson vigorously opposed the normalization of trade relations based on the U.S.S.R’s human rights violations record. The U.S.S.R had imposed an education tax on individuals who wanted to emigrate in order to halt a “brain drain”; following Israel’s victory in the Six-Day War in 1967, a large number of Jews were eager to emigrate from the U.S.S.R but were unable to do so. These milestones prompted Senator Jackson and Representative Charles

Vanik of Ohio to draft and introduce legislation that would put pressure on the U.S.S.R to change their human rights and emigration policies. They authored an amendment to the 1974 Trade Act that would deny most-favored nation (MFN) trading status to nations that restricted citizens’ emigration rights or that employed a non-market economy. Senator Jackson worked hard to convince Secretary of State Henry Kissinger that such close involvement with the U.S.S.R’s internal affairs was appropriate for the U.S. They reached an agreement when a provision was added allowing the president to waive MFN denial if the nation in question had showed progress toward opening its emigration policy. President Gerald Ford signed the Amendment into law in 1975.





*Setting Goals and Following
an Effective Process to Reach Them*

DETERMINED

Henry M. Jackson enjoyed the process of crafting public policy that would work. William Gerberding summarizes it: **“He was a policy-centric man. He had very strong interests in public policy, that’s what he was known for—being interested in the issues.”**

According to those who worked with him, Senator Jackson employed a systematic, stepwise approach to issues. First he informed himself, working hard at learning about the topic and assessing his own understanding of the context. Next he analyzed the situation through listening to a range of viewpoints that set priorities against one another. Then, with a storehouse of knowledge and understanding as backing, he proposed policy and built support for it.

This process enabled Jackson to remain focused and diligent on his key issues, and to steer significant legislation through committees and votes, such as moving the Trans Alaska Pipeline Act and the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Acts from the idea stage to enacted policy. Friends recount his determination and tenacity: **“He was dogged and persistent; he would keep after something, and he would stay focused. He would be committed to finding ways around something and sticking to it until something worked.”**

VALUING CIVILITY AND DIALOGUE

Civil discourse was a hallmark of Jackson’s process to crafting sound public policy. This was pragmatic: public discourse around important issues identified allies, clarified barriers, and pointed new pathways to workable solutions that would last. **“He had a problem-solving nature that tried to bring people together; he held that you can disagree without being**

disagreeable. He was always seeking ways to be pragmatic, to solve problems; there really was no ideological approach to political issues.” says a former staffer reflecting on how his civility and listening skills prompted useful input from his opponents. **“Scoop would say, ‘We don’t agree on this so let’s agree to disagree and move on to other issues.’ He didn’t minimize the differences, but he didn’t allow them to grow into disputes.”**

“We had partisan votes, but never a lock out,” recalls a member of his staff.

“[Jackson] would always try to work it out first, with conversation back and forth and individuals coming to some sort of accommodations. He believed that if the opposition has an honest difference you can make a better bill by modulating what you first put out there...it’s not a case of either-or...I learned from him that it is always possible to maneuver if you get off the track of ‘we’re right and they’re wrong’.... That doesn’t happen much in Congress today.”

**WHEN BARRY GOLDWATER ENTERED
POLITICS HE WROTE TO HIS BROTHER,
“IT AIN’T FOR LIFE AND IT MAY BE
FUN.” FOR SCOOP, IT WAS FOR LIFE,
AND I THINK IT WAS FUN.**

George F. Will

SENATOR JACKSON’S INFLUENCE ON ENERGY LEGISLATION

Throughout his career, Senator Jackson worked to bring inexpensive and accessible energy to the nation and the West Coast in particular. He was a vocal proponent of federal support for public power and the development of hydroelectric energy production. While in the House of Representatives, he fought to increase Washington State’s access to energy sources and advocated for the construction of dams along the Columbia River to increase energy production for his state. He brokered the Columbia River Treaty with Canada and public and private U.S. utilities in 1963. This treaty called for the construction of Canadian dams along the upper Columbia River, which would supply the West Coast states with greater hydropower generation and flood control downstream.

Senator Jackson served on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, which later became known as the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources. During the energy crisis of the 1970s, President Jimmy Carter and Department of Energy Secretary James Schlesinger put together a national energy plan to address critical issues that had become apparent as the crisis unfolded. The House of Representatives approved the plan easily, but the Senate blocked its passage. Senate members from oil-rich states such as Texas and Louisiana balked at the proposed federally

regulated price controls. As chairman of the Energy Committee, Senator Jackson worked assiduously with members of the Senate and Schlesinger to build a bipartisan coalition and pass the plan.

The National Energy Act of 1978 included an array of policies aimed at conserving natural gas, reducing U.S. dependence on foreign oil, and increasing usage of renewable energy. The Act included a package of the following five statutes to address each of these issues. The Public Utility Regulatory Policies Act created a market for electric and small power producers that would sell utility companies their power at a fair pay rate, equal to what they would pay alternate power producers. The Energy Tax Act gave residents or businesses that utilize alternative energy sources (e.g., solar, wind, or geothermal) a tax credit. It also implemented a tax on vehicles with low gas mileage. The National Energy Conservation Policy Act provided residents with conservation audits to conserve electricity usage. The Power Plant and Industrial Fuel Use Act restricted construction of oil and natural gas power plants and instead promoted the use of coal, renewable energy, and other fuels. The Natural Gas Policy Act granted the federal government regulatory powers over the gas production within and among states and provided pricing incentives to increase supply for consumers.



THERE'S A LONG TRAIL OF PEOPLE WHO WERE ATTRACTED BY HIS VALUES, HIS PHILOSOPHY, HIS LOYALTY, HIS INTELLIGENCE. THAT'S WHAT DRAWS PEOPLE IN. AS A LEADER YOU'VE GOT TO GET THE BEST POSSIBLE PEOPLE AND HOLD THEM. HE DID THAT.

Gerald Grinstein

Motivating Others for the Public Good

INSPIRING

Jackson's image hangs on walls of civic leaders, political scientists, and citizens throughout the country: **"He's there because he's a reminder of the best side of professionalism in politics—one who can make the creaking machinery of government move and knows it is not moved by dictate but persuasion,"** explains George F. Will.

Those who knew and worked alongside Senator Jackson gained an elevated sense of public service and civic purpose. They saw that a political career in elective office could be conducted with great integrity, seriousness, and commitment to the public. **"There's a lot of cynicism in politics, but nobody who knew Scoop was cynical about politics,"** says Richard Perle. **"It was an honorable calling to serve in public life and he encouraged it."**

"There's a long trail of people who were attracted by his values, his philosophy, his loyalty, his intelligence. That's what draws people in. As a leader you've got to get the best possible people and hold them. He did that," reflects Gerald Grinstein.

The hallmark qualities of Jackson's leadership—courage and integrity, openness to diverse perspectives, intellectual curiosity, and a dedication to the American ideals of freedom and democracy—formed the foundation of his effective and far-reaching career in public service. These hallmarks generated the light by which he sought and found answers; they held back the dark when danger or confusion hovered around his work. They continue to guide and inspire those who knew and worked with him, many of whom entered or stayed in public service because of him.

HENRY M. JACKSON'S CAREER IN PUBLIC SERVICE REMINDS US OF WHAT IS POSSIBLE TO EXPECT FROM LEADERS OF COURAGE, CHARACTER, AND VISION. EFFECTIVE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP GENERATES FAITH AND MOMENTUM AMONG THE GENERAL PUBLIC. IT CREATES COMMON PURPOSE AND SHARED VISION FOR CHANGE, OFTEN ON PREVIOUSLY UNBROKEN GROUND AND IN UNANTICIPATED CONFIGURATIONS. SUSTAINED OVER TIME, SUCH LEADERSHIP ENABLES THE UNITED STATES TO SOLVE ITS TOUGHEST PROBLEMS. IT IS HOPED THAT THIS EXAMINATION OF SENATOR JACKSON'S LEGACY OF LEADERSHIP WILL ENRICH THE CONVERSATION AMONG PROSPECTIVE LEADERS AND THOSE WHO ELECT AND SUPPORT THEM IN THE BELIEF THAT THIS CAN HASTEN PROGRESS IN FINDING AND CULTIVATING LEADERS AND PUBLIC SERVANTS WHO ARE OF THE HIGHEST CALIBER.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As we celebrate our twenty-fifth anniversary, there is no more appropriate way to commemorate the life and work of Senator Henry M. Jackson than to discuss the qualities of leadership he demonstrated throughout his extraordinary career.

On behalf of the Henry M. Jackson Foundation, I would like to thank the friends and colleagues of the late Senator who gave generously of their time to be interviewed and Foundation President Bill Van Ness for his thoughtful review and guidance throughout the publication development process.

Special thanks to Tina Cheplick and Jill Blair of *BTW—informing change* for conducting the interviews, conceiving and writing the manuscript, and helping to make this publication a success.

Lara Iglitzin, Executive Director
Henry M. Jackson Foundation

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

CONGRESSMAN NORM DICKS

Representative Norm Dicks worked as a legislative aide and administrative assistant to Senator Warren G. Magnuson from 1968 through 1976. He resigned in 1976 to begin his own congressional campaign. He won in Washington State's 6th Congressional District and has served in this position ever since. Representative Dicks developed expertise on national security issues and in the 1980s was involved in the U.S.-Soviet arms control debates. In 1990 he was appointed to the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and served on this committee for eight years. He has also been actively involved in legislation about environmental protection, Native American land claim settlements, and federal aid for forestry workers. Currently, he is the third-ranking member on the House Appropriations Committee, is chairman of the Interior and Environment Subcommittee, vice-chairman of the Defense Subcommittee and a member of the Military Construction/VA Subcommittee. He is also a member of the House Committee on Homeland Security.

DANIEL A. DREYFUS

After military service and ten years of professional engineering experience in government and the private sector, Daniel A. Dreyfus worked in committee staff roles for Senator Jackson for 12 years, from 1968 to 1981, becoming staff director of the Senate committee on Energy and Natural Resources before leaving the Committee for the private sector. He then served as the vice president for strategic analysis at the Gas Research Institute and CEO of the affiliated Gas Technology Information, Inc. In 1993, he was appointed by President Clinton and confirmed by the Senate to serve as director of the Office of Civilian Radioactive Waste Management in the Department of Energy. He later worked for the Smithsonian Institution as Associate Director for Operations for the National Museum of Natural History. He is currently retired.

GOVERNOR DANIEL J. EVANS

Governor Daniel Evans began a long career in public service by joining the Navy in 1943 and later served in the Korean War. He transferred this sense of service into political life when he was voted into the Washington State House of Representatives in 1956. In 1965, his constituents elected him governor and he served for a record three terms. In 1977, he left the governorship to become president of The Evergreen State College and worked to elevate the reputation of the school and stabilize its operations. Governor Evans left this job to fill the Senate seat left vacant by Senator Henry M. Jackson's death, was later elected to the position and served in the U.S. Senate for six years. He served on the University of Washington's Board of Regents and currently runs the consulting firm Daniel J. Evans Associates.

WILLIAM P. GERBERDING

After earning a Ph.D. in political science at the University of Chicago, William P. Gerberding went to Washington, D.C., on a congressional fellowship. He worked on the congressional staffs of Senator Eugene McCarthy and Representative Frank Thompson, Jr. After one year at Colgate University and then another year on the aforementioned staffs, he joined the political science faculty at UCLA.

From 1972 to 1979, he held top positions at universities across the country, including vice president for academic affairs at Occidental College from 1972 to 1975, vice chancellor at UCLA from 1975 to 1978, chancellor at the University of Illinois from 1978 to 1979 and president of the University of Washington from 1979 to 1995. While at the University of Washington, he came to know Senator Jackson and other Washington State officials. He is currently retired.

GERALD GRINSTEIN

Gerald Grinstein worked for 12 years on Capitol Hill as both a lawyer for the Senate Commerce Committee and as an aide to Senator Warren G. Magnuson. He worked with Senator Magnuson to promote and write consumer protection legislation and grew to know Senator Jackson through the working relationship of the two senators. After leaving Washington, D.C., for his home state of Washington, he worked privately as a lawyer. He served as president and CEO of Western Airlines, Inc., which later merged with Delta Airlines. He also served as non-executive chairman of Agilent Technologies from 1999 through November 2002 and as chairman and CEO of Burlington Northern Inc. until 1995. While in that position he oversaw the company's acquisition of Santa Fe Pacific Corp., which created the nation's largest railroad. In the 1990s he formed a Seattle-based investment company called the Madrona Investment Group, LLC. He was also appointed to the University of Washington's Board of Regents and later became its chairman. He served as CEO of Delta Airlines in 2004 and helped pull the company out of deep financial crisis before stepping down in 2007.

SENATOR DANIEL K. INOUE

Senator Daniel K. Inouye began his political career in 1954, serving in the Hawaii Territorial Legislature. Five years later, Hawaii became the nation's 50th state, thanks in part to the efforts of Senator Jackson, then-chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Territories. Inouye was elected Hawaii's first U.S. Representative, and in 1962, three years after Hawaii's admission to the Union, Inouye was elected to the U.S. Senate, where he continues to serve. He chaired the Iran-Contra hearings, was the first chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, and served on the Senate Watergate Committee. He currently chairs the Senate's Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, and the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation. During World War II, Inouye served with the legendary 442nd Regimental Combat Team, and is the recipient of the nation's highest award for military valor, the Medal of Honor.

AMBASSADOR MAX M. KAMPELMAN

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman served as Senator Hubert Humphrey's legislative counsel from 1949 to 1955. During this time, he got to know Senator Henry M. Jackson who worked closely with Senator Humphrey. Upon leaving the Senate, he began the practice of law in Washington. In 1980, President Carter appointed him as ambassador to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and in 1985 he was appointed by President Reagan to serve as ambassador and head of the U.S. Delegation to the Negotiations with the Soviet Union on Nuclear and Space Arms. He served as Counselor with the U.S. Department of State in the late 1980s and then returned to the law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris Shriver & Jacobson LLP. Ambassador Kampelman is a recipient of the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the Presidential Citizens Medal, the Knight Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany, Library of Congress' Living Legend award, and the Publius Award from the Center for the Study of the Presidency.

CHARLES F. LUCE

Charles F. Luce practiced law in Walla Walla, Washington, from 1946 to 1961 and worked with the Umatilla Indian Reservation to establish a tribal constitution and government. After working closely with the tribe, he created a trust fund for higher education needs. In 1961, Senator Jackson asked him to become administrator of the Bonneville Power Authority. He accepted the offer and worked with the Canadian government to move excess power to the U.S. Western states. He also chaired the National Water Commission. In 1966, Senator Jackson recommended that President Lyndon Johnson appoint Mr. Luce as undersecretary of the Department of the Interior. He held this position for one year before Consolidated Edison (ConEd), the New York private utility company, tapped him to become chairman. He helped the company reorganize, improve its stock prices, and deal with the energy crisis of the early 1970s. Mr. Luce stepped down as ConEd's chairman in 1982 and worked as special counsel to Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Mr. Luce passed away on January 26, 2008.

SENATOR SAM NUNN

Senator Sam Nunn served in the Senate for 24 years, from 1972 to 1996, and worked on several committees with Senator Jackson. Senator Nunn is currently co-chairman and chief executive officer of the Nuclear Threat Initiative, chairman of the board of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and distinguished professor at the Sam Nunn School of International Affairs at Georgia Institute of Technology. Previously, he was a partner at the law firm of King & Spalding in Atlanta. The Nuclear Threat Initiative is a nonprofit organization that works to reduce nuclear, biological and chemical weapon threats. In the Senate, he chaired the Committee on Armed Services and the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations and also served on the Intelligence and Small Business Committees. His legislative achievements include the "Nunn-Lugar" Cooperative Threat Reduction Program, which provides assistance to Russia and the former Soviet republics for securing and destroying their excess nuclear, biological and chemical weapons.

RICHARD PERLE

Richard Perle's experience has established him as an expert in the areas of national security, defense, arms proliferation, military requirements and regional conflicts. He joined Senator Jackson's staff soon after finishing his graduate education. The two worked closely together on a number of different issues, including the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the Trade Act and the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). He worked with the Senator for 11 years from 1969 to 1980 before moving to the Department of Defense as assistant secretary of defense for international security policy. He was a member of the Defense Policy Board from 1987 through 2006, and served as its chairman. For the past 21 years, he has served as a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research where he directs its Commission on Future Defenses.

KENNETH B. PYLE

Kenneth B. Pyle is the Henry M. Jackson Professor of History and Asian Studies at the University of Washington. From 1978 to 1988 he served as director of the School of International Studies at the University, which was named for Senator Jackson after his death in 1983. He traveled extensively in Asia with the Senator and conceived with him the idea of an institution that would bring expertise on Asia to the policymaking process in Washington, D.C. In 1989 the Jackson Foundation provided a

series of grants to establish the National Bureau of Asian Research where Dr. Pyle served as president. He is the author of numerous studies of U.S. Asian policy. In 1999 the Emperor of Japan conferred on him the Order of the Rising Sun.

SECRETARY JAMES SCHLESINGER

Secretary James Schlesinger's political career includes service in the Nixon, Ford and Carter administrations. In the mid-1970s, Dr. Schlesinger worked with President Carter to draft a plan to form the Department of Energy and establish a national energy policy. In 1976, he was appointed by the President as the nation's first Secretary of Energy. During his two years in this role, Schlesinger worked with Senator Jackson, who chaired the Senate Committee for Energy and Natural Resources. Prior to his work with President Carter and the Department of Energy, he worked in a variety of positions and departments for the Nixon administration. He served as assistant director of the Bureau of the Budget, and then as chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. He served briefly as director of the Central Intelligence Agency in 1973 before accepting President Nixon's offer to become Secretary of Defense, a position he held from 1973 to 1975. During his tenure he worked on a wide range of issues including the strengthening of NATO, the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War, and the aftermath of the Vietnam War. Currently he is a senior advisor at the investment banking firm of Lehman Brothers.

LINDA MASON WILGIS

Linda Mason Wilgis knew and worked with Senator Jackson as a member of his staff on the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources until his death in 1983. She remained working on the committee until her departure to the University of Virginia law school in 1985. After graduating in 1988, she returned to Seattle and practiced law at a private law firm. In 1991 she entered the public sector again as a Washington State Assistant Attorney General and stayed in this position until 2001. Currently, she works for the Washington State Office of the Family & Children's Ombudsman, under the Office of the Governor, to provide families and other citizens with an independent and impartial review of state child welfare agency decisions regarding children reported to be at risk of abuse or neglect and to provide advice to the legislature and governor on the need for systemic reforms to the child welfare system.

GEORGE F. WILL

George F. Will has received numerous awards and accolades for his political writing. He has been a columnist and contributor for many years at the *Washington Post* and *Newsweek* magazine. He won a Pulitzer Prize for his newspaper columns at the *Washington Post*, which have been syndicated to almost 500 other newspaper organizations across the U.S. and Europe. He is a contributing analyst for ABC News and participates in the television news program "This Week." From 1973 to 1976 he served as Washington editor of the *National Review*. Prior to his profession in journalism, he taught political philosophy at Michigan State University and the University of Toronto. He also worked on the Senate staff of Colorado Senator Gordon Allott, where he met and worked with Senator Jackson.

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THE HENRY M. JACKSON PAPERS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

The Henry M. Jackson Papers, an extensive archive of documents, photos, films and other historical items related to Senator Jackson's career, is housed at the University of Washington Libraries. The University Website hosts a portal for easy access to selected digitized documents, photographs, audio recordings, films and videos, and other unique and archival resources contained in the Jackson Papers.

Henry M. Jackson Web Portal: <http://www.lib.washington.edu/specialcoll/portals/pnw/jackson/>

Online catalog of the contents of the Henry M. Jackson Papers:
<http://www.lib.washington.edu/specialcoll/findaids/docs/papersrecords/JacksonHenry3560.html>

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